

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 NEA-10 AF-10 ACDA-12 HA-05  
/119 W

-----087140 202029Z /47

P R 201600Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6961  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
USMISSION BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 1000

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UR, US, PEPR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET PROPAGANDA TAKES A HARSHER LINE TOWARD U.S. FOREIGN  
POLICY

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REF: (A) MOSCOW 0639, (B) MOSCOW 0554, (C) MOSCOW 0364,  
(D) MOSCOW 0487

SUMMARY: EMBASSY HAS NOTED A STIFFENING OF SOVIET PRESS  
COMMENT ABOUT U.S.G. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PAST WEEK TO  
TEN DAYS. THE PRESS HAS BEGUN ONCE AGAIN TO ATTACK THE  
PRESIDENT PERSONALLY (REF A) ON SPECIFIC ISSUES AND

IT APPEARS TO BE PUSHING A NEW LINE ABOUT U.S. POLICY, VIZ. THAT THE OLD HAWKS AND DOVES STRUGGLE IS INTENSIFIED AGAIN WITH THE HAWKS SHOWING NEW STRENGTH IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. (PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI IS LISTED AS THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATION HAWK). IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS AND IN PUBLIC LECTURES THE IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT A PERCEIVED NEGATIVE TURN IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.  
END CONFIDENTIAL, BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

1. SOVIET PRESS TREATMENT OF ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS TAKEN ON A NEW HARSHNESS RECENTLY. THIS HAS BEEN A GRADUAL PROCESS, BEGINNING PERHAPS LATE LAST YEAR AS THE U.S. BECAME INCREASINGLY OPENLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE SADAT-BEGIN CONTACTS AND (IN SOVIET EYES) WITH THE SETBACK THESE CONTACTS GAVE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. MOSCOW ROUTINELY BLAMED THE U.S. FOR CONTINUED ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN TALKS AND THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION WAS MET WITH HEAVY-HANDED ABUSE (REFS C AND D). U.S. POLICIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA HAVE BEEN CONSCIOUSLY DISTORTED AND ATTACKED, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF A "PREMEDITATED DISTORTION" OF THE TRUTH REGARDING SOVIET POLICY IN THE HORN(REF A). WE READ THE TASS STATEMENT OF JANUARY 19 ON THE HORN OF AFRICA AS BEING LARGELY DIRECTED AGAINST THE U.S.  
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(SEPTEL). ALSO, A STATEMENT BY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI WAS SHARPLY CRITICIZED ON THE VIETNAM-CAMBODIA CONFLICT AND THIS STATEMENT WAS DISTORTED TO GIVE A WHOLLY FALSE IMPRESSION OF U.S. POLICY IN THIS QUESTION (REF B).

2. PRAVDA'S INTERNATIONAL WEEK REVIEW OF JAN. 15 CONTAINED A DISCUSSION OF U.S. ARMS SUPPLY POLICIES WHICH EPITOMIZES THE TONE OF CURRENT SOVIET COMMENTARY. POSITING THE USUAL DICHOTOMY BETWEEN HAWKS AND DOVES IN THE U.S., VLADIMIR BOLSHAKOV CHARACTERIZES THE POSITION OF THE FORMER AS A REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WITH THE USSR AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE COLD WAR. THESE HAWKS, HE WRITES, ENJOY "ENORMOUS" FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT.

3. BOLSHAKOV OFFERED PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI AS AN EXAMPLE OF A HAWK IN U.S. POLITICS, CITING BRZEZINSKI'S STATEMENTS ON FACE THE NATION CONCERNING INDOCHINA (CORRECTLY) AND THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP. BOLSHAKOV THEN MENTIONED THE U.S. DECISION TO ADD TO ITS TROOP LEVEL IN

EUROPE AND A RECENT CRUISE MISSILE TEST, IMPLYING  
U.S. LACK OF SERIOUSNESS IN MBFR AND SALT AND  
LEAVING THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE HAWKS, AS  
HE DEFINED THEM, HAVE INCREASED THEIR INFLUENCE  
AND MAY HAVE GAINED THE UPPER HAND IN U.S. POLITICS.  
THE DIVISION BETWEEN HAWK AND DOVE IN THE U.S. IS  
ALSO USED BY RATIANI IN A SURVEY OF U.S. POLITICS  
IN PRAVDA ON JANUARY 20.

4. MEANWHILE THE PRESS HAS CARRIED A SERIES OF  
ARTICLES AND COMMENTS CONDEMNING THE U.S. OPPOSITION  
TO THE INCLUSION OF COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN EUROPEAN  
GOVERNMENTS, ITALY IN PARTICULAR, AS INTERFERENCE  
IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.  
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YURI ZHUKOV IN PRAVDA JAN. 18 GIVES THE MOST AUTHORI-  
TATIVE CRITIQUE THUS FAR. HE NOT ONLY CONDEMNS THE  
U.S. FOR ITS POSITION, BUT ALSO CITING A DREW MIDDLE-  
TON NYT STORY THAT THERE IS A NATO STUDY OF VARIOUS  
"UNFORESEEN CIRCUMSTANCES" IN CASE OF COMMUNIST  
PARTICIPATION IN NATO GOVERNMENTS, SUGGESTS THAT  
NATO HAS A PLAN FOR "MILITARY-POLITICAL ACTION" IN  
SUCH "CIRCUMSTANCES."

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6962  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 1000

5. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS AND VISITING DAS  
LUERS JAN. 18 PRAVAD'S EDITOR, SERGEY VISHNEVSKIY,  
AND IZVESTIYA POLITICAL COMMENTATOR, V. MAYVEYEV,  
ARGUED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY  
WAS LESS IDEOLOGICAL AND MORE PRAGMATIC THAN ITS  
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PREDECESSOR BUT THIS WAS NOT NECESSARILY GOOD FOR  
THE USSR. MATVEYEV CONTENDED THAT THE CARTER FOREIGN  
POLICY WAS BECOMING ANTI-SOVIET IN A NUMBER OF AREAS  
AND HE GAVE A VERY NEGATIVE RUNDOWN OF THE PRESIDENT'S  
RECENT SEVEN-NATION TRIP. BRZEZINSKI CAME IN FOR PARTICULAR  
CRITICISM.

6. A PUBLIC LECTURE AT THE MOSCOW ZNANIE SOCIETY  
ON JANUARY 15 COVERED MANY OF THESE THEMES AND WAS  
MARKED BY A STRONGLY ANTI-U.S. UNDERCURRENT. THE  
PRESIDENT'S TRIP WAS DISCUSSED IN UNFLATTERING  
TERMS AS FAILING TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES, WHICH  
WERE SAID TO HAVE BEEN SET BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S  
"MAIN IDEOLOGIST" BRZEZINSKI. THE PRESIDENT WAS  
ACCUSED OF FANNING THE ARMS RACE WHILE SPEAKING OF  
DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE AND OF INTERFERING IN THE  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST STATES THROUGH HIS  
HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN. SALT WAS CITED AS AN AREA  
WHERE SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS HAVE DETERIORATED.  
ALTHOUGH AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON 90 PERCENT OF  
THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES, THE REMAINING ISSUES POSE VERY  
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS, ACCORDING TO THE LECTURER. MORE-  
OVER, IT WAS CLAIMED THAT THE HAWKS IN THE U.S. (WHO  
HAVE BEGUN TO GAIN AN UPPER HAND IN U.S. POLICY)  
OPPOSE THOSE LIMITS ALREADY AGREED UPON, AND THE

U.S. PRESS WAS CITED TO SUPPORT THE ASSERTION THAT  
THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN RATIFICATION  
OF A SALT AGREEMENT IN THE SENATE.  
END UNCLASSIFIED, BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL

7. COMMENT: AS THE ABOVE LIST SUGGESTS, NO SINGLE  
ISSUE APPEARS TO HAVE CAUSED MOSCOW TO TAKE A  
HARSHER LINE ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. RATHER THERE  
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SEEMS TO BE A NEW WILLINGNESS TO PICK SPECIFIC  
POLICIES AND TO CRITICIZE THEM POINTEDLY. FOR  
MANY MONTHS (SINCE THE SEPTEMBER SALT BREAKTHROUGH  
AND EVEN BEFORE) THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SENIOR  
ADVISORS HAVE NOT BEEN SINGLED OUT FOR PERSONAL  
CRITICISM. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN IN PART A RESULT OF  
THE PRESIDENT'S EXPRESSION OF DISPLEASURE AT  
PREVIOUS PERSONAL CRITICISM. WHATEVER THE REASON,  
THE TABOO HAS CLEARLY BEEN REMOVED. THE SINGLING  
OUT OF BRZEZINSKI IS AS MARKED NOW AS IT WAS AT ITS  
HEIGHT EARLY LAST SUMMER.

8. WE ARE NOT YET INCLINED TO SEE THIS CHANGE IN  
SOVIET PRESS LINE AS AN INDICATION THAT SUSLOV AND  
HIS ALLIES HAVE GAINED THE UPPER HAND WHILE BREZH-  
NEV IS INCAPACITATED. INSTEAD, AT THIS POINT IT  
SEEMS MORE PLAUSIBLE TO US THAT SOVIET PROPAGANDISTS  
ARE REFLECTING THE REGIME'S FRUSTRATION AT THE COURSE  
OF EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE. THEY ARE  
RESPONDING WITH CHARACTERISTIC SOVIET BLUSTER TO  
THE CRITICISMS, DIRECT OR IMPLIED, BY THE U.S. OF  
SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND ARE  
POINTING AT CONVENIENT TARGETS INVOLVING U.S.  
POLICIES WHICH THEY HOPE MAY DISTRACT ATTENTION.  
THE IMPLICIT PESSIMISM OVER SALT IN THE PUBLIC  
LECTURE MAY BE INTENDED TO EASE EXPECTATIONS WHICH  
(UPON REFLECTION) THE REGIME DECIDED HAD BEEN  
RAISED TOO MUCH BY BREZHNEV'S DEC. 24 INTERVIEW IN  
PRAVDA AND MAY ALSO BE IN RESPONSE TO STRONG SIGNALS  
REACHING HERE RECENTLY FROM WELL-INFORMED NON-  
ADMINISTRATION VISITORS THAT THE SALT AGREEMENTS  
FACE A TOUGH BATTLE IN THE SENATE.

9. INTERESTINGLY, THIS NEW HARSHNESS IN THE PRESS  
COMES AT A TIME WHEN VISHNEVSKIY AND IUSAC DEPUTY  
DIRECTOR R.G. BOGDANOV HAVE TOLD US ABOUT A SOVIET  
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PRESS "DIRECTIVE" TO TREAT THE U.S. WITH MORE  
"BALANCE." WE WILL BE COMMENTING ON THIS "DIRECTIVE"  
IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM.  
MATLOCK

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**TAGS:** PEPR, UR, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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